

AD-758 701

A WORLD POLITICAL DATA AND ANALYSIS  
PROGRAM

Bruce M. Russett, et al

Yale University

Prepared for:

Office of Naval Research  
Advanced Research Projects Agency

30 September 1972

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AD 758701

Quarterly Management Report  
World Political Data and Analysis Program

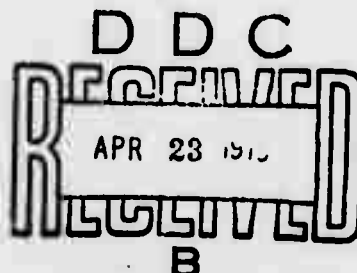
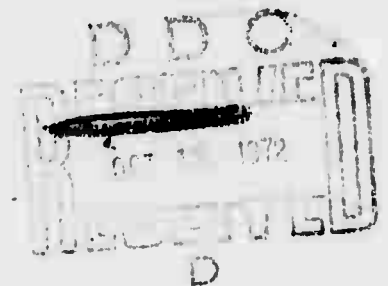
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Prepared in connection with Advanced Research Projects Agency,  
ARPA Order No. 1067, Contract No. N0014-67-A-0097-007  
monitored by the Office of Naval Research

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September 30, 1972

Order Number: 1067  
Project Code Number: NR 177-916  
Name of Contractor: Yale University  
Date of Contract: 1 September 1967  
(Signed August 1971)  
Amount of Contract: \$353,500.00  
Contract Expiration Date:  
August 31, 1973

Contract Number: N0014-67-A  
0097-0007

Bruce H. Russett  
P. Bradford Westerfield  
Jeffrey S. Milstein  
John D. Sullivan

Title: A World Political Data  
and Analysis Program

The Director  
Advanced Research Projects Agency  
Department of Defense  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As is required by our contract, I have the honor to submit to you the Management Report for the quarter covering work performed for July 1, 1972 - September 30, 1972.

# I. EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

## Technical Problems and Accomplishments

A. During the past quarter Mr. Russett continued his work on international relations theory. The book he edited from the 1970 American Political Science Association section on Peace Research (Peace, War, and Numbers) was published in July 1972. In addition to a long introduction by Russett, it contains articles by Messrs. Milstein and Sullivan prepared under the contract (see earlier reports) and an article by Russett not prepared under this contract.

Mr. Russett, with Betty Hanson, completed a paper entitled, "Testing Some Economic Interpretations of American Intervention: Korea, Indochina, and the Stock Market," and submitted it to the American Political Science Review.

Mr. Russett also sent off to several publishers the manuscript of a book, entitled Power and Community in World Politics that integrates 19 articles, many of them ARPA/ONR-supported, he has written over the past decade.

A Ph.D. candidate associated with the project, Robert Harkavy, continues his partially contract-supported dissertation about the determinants of buyer-seller relationships in the international arms trade before and after World War II. The book of former Ph.D. student, Harvey Starr, was published in August: War Coalitions: The Distributions of Payoffs and Losses, D. C. Heath, publishers, Lexington, Mass. Starr's research for this book was partially supported by this contract.

Mr. Russett and Alfred Stepan finished galley proofs of their edited volume, Military Force and American Society, to be published by Harper & Row in January 1973. Work on two papers for the volume

was supported by the contract: "Changing National Priorities, 1947-71: Budgets, Presidential Perceptions, and External Environment," by Jong Ryool Lee, and "The New Civil-Military Relations: An Annotated Bibliography," by Major Raoul Alcalá, U. S. Army, and Douglas Rosenberg. The former represents a highly sophisticated analysis of budgetary data and content analysis of public documents trying to account for shifts in military priorities and relating them to international events. The latter is a bibliography of approximately 2500 items, many of them annotated, and much more comprehensive than anything previously existing.

Mr. Russett also has been engaged in a number of activities which, though not supported by the contract, are closely related to it. His paper, "A Countercombatant Deterrent: Feasibility, Morality, and Arms Control," was published in a volume edited by Sam Sarkesian for Sage Publications, Beverly Hills: The Military-Industrial Complex: A Reassessment. He took part in a conference held in Washington in September, and the topic, "The Military in American Society." In July he became Editor of the Journal of Conflict Resolution, the pre-eminent North American journal publishing social scientific research on questions of war and peace.

B. Professor Milstein continued his research on the Vietnam War and the Middle Eastern conflict. He and Jong Ryool Lee worked on a paper, entitled "Forecasting Political and Military Variables in the Vietnam War, 1965-1973," which will be presented at the Peace Science Society (International) meeting in Philadelphia in November, and later published in the Society's Papers. Other papers by Mr. Milstein in press are "Soviet and American Influences on the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: A Quantitative Analysis," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, vol. 15; "Arab and Israeli Voting in the United Nations on Non-Middle Eastern Soviet Issues," in J. D. Ben-Dak, ed., Methodology in Search of Relevance: Assessing Arab-Israeli Conflict Relations (New York: Gordon and Breach, Science Publishers, forthcoming), and "The Vietnam War from the 1968 Tet Offensive to the 1970 Cambodian Invasion," in H. R. Alker, K. W. Deutsch, and A. Steetzel, eds., Quantitative Aspects of Politics (Paris: Elviseir Press, forthcoming.) At the beginning of the summer Mr. Milstein took up his International Affairs Fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations to spend the current academic year as a staff member of the State Department's Planning and Coordination Staff. Thus except for the materials just referred to as in process, Mr. Milstein's work on the contract is now completed.

alliance theories and an empirical testing of various hypotheses derived from those theories will be published in 1973 by John Wiley and Sons. In addition, Sullivan continued to explore various models of informal alignments utilizing the extensive data set he developed for the original work in this area. The findings of these analyses will be reported in a forthcoming paper, co-authored with a student, Richard Rinaldi.

Work proceeds for a companion volume to the second edition of the World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators (Yale University Press, 1972) which is under consideration by Yale Press. This will contain a series of articles which illustrate ways in which the data in the World Handbook can be used. The project will support Sullivan's editing work as well as his contributions to the volume. He has contributed to the introduction dealing with general problems of theory and measurement in the use of aggregate data and has written a paper, his earlier paper dealing with foreign intervention in domestic conflict. This paper explores a number of models which purport to explain such intervention. The volume will be co-edited by Michael C. Hudson and Charles Taylor, and contains contract-supported papers by each of the authors and by Russett as well as several other papers.

Sullivan also co-authored a paper with John Dew, Charles Taylor, and Bruce Russett describing the computer programs developed on the project for the manipulation and analyses of World Handbook data. These programs produce a variety of tables and graphics which provide one with the ability to describe aspects of various types of aggregate data such as those contained in the Handbook. This paper, entitled "Computer Routines for Arraying Aggregate Data," was published in the September 1972 issue of International Studies Quarterly.

Mr. Sullivan has now taken up his new position as Associate Professor of Political Science at the Claremont Graduate School; except for the work in progress his contract-supported efforts also are now completed.

#### DOD Implications

The research aims of these investigators are to devise and test quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation between nations.

#### Fiscal Status

Amount currently funded	\$238,870.00
Estimated expenditure to date	240,883.00
Remaining Funds	\$ 48,000.00

Action required of the government: None.

Future plans: No change to report at this time.

## II. AUSTRALIAN LINKS WITH BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

### Technical Problem

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Mr. Westerfield's project seeks to analyze the domestic and international influences that have shaped key governmental decisions in Australia since 1937 in such a way as to alter its links with Britain and to strengthen its links with the United States. Westerfield's concern is with the major recurrent international integrative and disintegrative forces that are exemplified in this particular instance of shifting alignments, including the changes that occur in the national security decision process itself under such circumstances.

### General Methodology

Westerfield is studying the evolution of mass opinion through available Australian survey materials, and of elite opinion identifiable through content analysis of representative Australian periodicals and parliamentary debates; he also intends to study the impact of electoral politics (including geographic and demographic factors). The effects of the power structure of the political parties inside and outside parliament also command his attention. The various elements of the study will converge to a focus that aims to shed additional light on the executive decision making process, for some key episodes at least, by means of interviews in Australia; but for diplomatic reasons the fieldwork will not be under DoD auspices.

### Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a content analysis of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on national security in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs and defense activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions. These data have been analyzed to develop a model of some of these alignments, showing for each party what are the basic, recurrent cross-cutting policy orientations that unite or divide its prominent members, as particular issues arise to engage those predispositions.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis has also been made of Australian journals of opinion and of Australia's most significant newspaper, The Melbourne Age.

The comparisons have been extended to include mass opinion tapped through survey research. The foreign affairs and defense questions on thirty-five Australian Gallup polls were run on the computer. The respondents' opinions on the five or six relevant questions on each individual poll were tabulated against the following variables: party supported at previous election, economic class, religion, age, sex, urban-rural residence, and state. Then controlling for party supported at previous election the opinions were tabulated against the remaining variables. Finally, controlling for both party and state residence, the responses were tabulated again against the remaining variables. The resultant printout for each question had approximately 100 tables, each of which was printed along with a chi-square significance test.

Although there were only a few questions which Gallup periodi-

cally repeated verbatim, many of the questions asked at different times were similar enough to produce trend lines. Graphs mapping Australian opinions on the following subjects were produced: involvement in Vietnam, the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation, the governing of Western New Guinea, the success of the United Nations, the acceptability of the United Nations as a world government, the creation and existence of foreign bases in Australia, military training, atomic testing, immigration, the relationship between Australia and New Zealand, the admission of China to the United Nations, trade with Communist China, recognition of China, and the nationality of the Governor-General. Along with division of opinion nationwide, graphs for each of the above topics were produced for all the variables previously mentioned except for state residence.

The next step has been to develop a combined code of issues and attitudes (directions and intensities) that would be applicable to all the national security discussions in the media and parliament and also to the opinion polls. With this code all three kinds of expression have been put on punch cards, in order to explore by computer the extent to which legislators' statements coincide with the mass currents of opinion and with the intellectual and journalistic elite statements, and to what extent they lead or lag behind such objective conditions as changes in patterns of foreign trade and investments and allies' force deployments in the region. Computer runs began in May, focussing first on the relative saliency of certain kinds of approaches (military, general non-military, economic, and national-identity-seeking) to thirteen large foreign and defense problems that recurred over time. Evidence clearly emerges, for example, of the generally greater saliency of military approaches in elite expressions than in mass-circulation expressions--but also of the greater fluctuation in elite than mass expressions in this regard. Computer runs continued during the summer with the research emphasis shifting from comparing the saliencies to comparing directions of movement of opinion in the various channels. The analysis of this stage is now in process.

#### DoD Implications

The research indicates an encompassing pattern in the country's foreign policy making -- a pattern that emphasizes a ubiquitous feeling in Australia of powerlessness and dependency in international affairs; this attitude seems to be shared both by those who are generally complacent about it and also by the others who indulge half-heartedly in various gestures against it.

#### Implications for Further Research

The above suggests that this study as a whole may be a basis for comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

Problems encountered: none.

#### Fiscal Status:

Amount currently funded	\$64,700.00
Estimated expenditures to date	64,346.58
Remaining funds	\$ 353.42

Action required of the government: none.

Future plans: no change to report at this time.